90 6 9c

THE NEW AGE

389 399

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO CULTURE AND PROGRESS

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
24 JAN 1940
MADRAS

EDITOR H. D. RAJAH.

VOL. IV JUNE 1937 NO. 1

CONTENTS

1. Indian Working Class In Action 1
2. Education In The Soviet Union 10
3. Fascism In Japan 13
4. The United Front In Bengal 16
5. Exit From Marxism 22
6. Amendment To Payment Of Wages Act 28
7. Trade Union Front 32
8. Book Review 36
9. Notes and News 37

Bombay Students in Action—The Kottapatam Affair—Climbing Down.

WHERE TO INSURE YOUR CAR.

Best Service, Immediate Cover, Efficient Establishment, Head Office in your own Province, Prompt and Generous Settlement of claims, these are some points in Motor Insurance which every Car Owner must take into consideration before he applies for a policy in any company.

The "Vanguard" satisfies all these requirements. The Company is steadily marching onward and thanks to the generous response of the public it has established excellent record in Motor Insurance in so short a period.

Insure Your Car with the "Vanguard" which assures you safety and satisfaction.

Wanted Agents on Liberal Terms Everywhere.

The Vanguard Insurance Company Limited.

159, Mount Road **Phone No. 8558.** **Madras.**

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
24 JAN 1940
MADRAS

Quality SOAPS—SOAPS of Quality

"WISICO"

The Mark of Quality

Buy ***Wisico's*** "Red" Carbolic Soap.
and A 1. Pale Bar Soap.

The only Soaps in the Country
that wash and wash well.

Western India Soap & Industrials Co.,
Flower Market, South Mangalore.

Avoid Aspirins—and

Avoid Heart Troubles

USE—

HEADACHES!

AMRUTANJAN

CURES ALL ACHES & PAINS

THE NEW AGE

(Published Every Month)

Annual Subscription Re. 1. (inland) **Single Copy Two Annas**
(*including postage*) **Rs. 3.** (foreign) **,, Three ,,**

In response to the requests of our well wishers and with a view to make this Journal easily available to all rich and poor, we have gladly reduced its subscription to Re. 1 per year. As the 'New' Age' is intended to serve society by spreading the gospel of a new social order we appeal to the public to take advantage of this concession and help the cause of the Journal by enlisting themselves in large number as subscribers.

All communications intended for Publication should be addressed to the Editor. The Editor is not responsible for any statements or views expressed by contributors. The articles intended to be published in the magazine should reach the office before the 25th of every month. The articles should be legibly written on one side of the paper only. Typed manuscripts will be preferred. The pages of this jounrnal are open for expression of advanced thoughts on political, social and economic problems.

Business notice:—All business correspondence and all moneys and cheques intended for the journal should be sent to the Manager.

For particulars regarding advertisement rates and sale of copies apply to the Manager.

Wanted: Capable young men to canvass Subscribers and advertisements for the Journal on decent salary or commission.

Apply to:—The Manager,
THE NEW AGE.

3, Kondi Chetti Street, Madras.

The New Age

VOL. IV JUNE 1937 NO. 1

INDIAN WORKING CLASS IN ACTION

May day is a day of Working Class parade—the day on which it reviews its forces, takes stock of its struggles of the past year and makes its plans for the coming year of struggle. It is a day on which one year of struggle ends and another begins.

A Year of Struggle Everywhere.

The Year that closed with the May Day had been a year of numerous heroic struggles of the working class against the new capitalist offensive of wagecuts and dismissals. In the principal large scale industries of India—in cotton, textiles, on the Railways, Jute, Water Transport, Mining and Metallurgy, in which the workers are more or less organised, these had been more or less widespread struggles against further attempts to lower the standard of living of the workers. Another feature of the last year's struggles was the coming into the field of mass action of the broad section of workers from backward areas and trades—workers who had not yet been drawn into the orbit of organisation and struggle. Workers engaged in such trade as Municipal sweepers, Tonga-and Ekhawallas, salt pan workers, Bidi and tobacco workers and even todday-Tappers came into the arena of working class struggle and organisations. Third feature of the last year's struggle is the remarkable growth of the peasant movement—and what is more the emergence of a new form of peasant struggle which is being moulded under the direct influence of the working class. Finally the unexpectedly wide spread political activisation of the working class took place during the election struggles particularly in the Labour Constituencies.

What are the principal achievements of the last Year? what successes has it scored along the path of building the working class United Front against capitalist offensive? How far has it advanced in the task of building up its own organisations? How far has it advanced tawards its goal of coming forward as the builder and the initiator of the United National Front against Imperialism and for National Independence and a democratic State? On May Day, we must look to the balance sheet of the proletarian struggle, carefully consider the credit and the debit side and draw up on its basis a practical plan for the future.

It is characteristic of the present state of the working class organisation

in India, that the majority of the struggles begin spontaneously. This holds good even for the industries where there is some sort of organisation. It is the spontaneous initiative of the workers, their native urge to unite—though locally—and struggle against the unbearable attacks against their standard of living, which leads the way. The organised working class leadership rushes in after the struggle, has started and unfortunately is often a hindrance than a help.

The Struggles of the Textile Workers.

The widespread but scattered struggles of the textile workers which took place last year in almost all the principal cotton centres of India excepting Bombay proper and Sholapore may serve as an example. Because of the floods in Northern India which took place in the beginning of the last year, coupled with the signs of drought which developed later, there was a spectacular depression in the Cotton centres of Gujerat and Central India. Although the depression proved temporary as the later events showed the cotton kings of Gujerat and Central India decided to use the opportunity to drive down the wage level of their workers and thus secure for themselves a bigger margin of profit in their struggle against competition from Bombay. The Millowners of Ahmedabad led the way by announcing a wage cut of 12½%. Their brothers in Boroda, Indore and other places followed suit.

Five thousand workers of the Manek Chand Mill in Ahmedabad suddenly struck work and refused to accept the wage cut—which was a flagrant breach of the Dehli pact negotiated between the Millowners and the Majur-Mahajan Union in 1935. This action of the workers forced the hands of their Union, which could not, this time resort to its usual trick of expelling workers for going on strike without the permission of the Union. The Majur Mahajan had to come out with the threat of a general strike. But, in the end it did succeed in carrying out its usual tactics. It successfully isolated not only the struggle in the Manekchand Mill from the rest of the Mills in Ahmedabad but isolated the struggle in Ahmedabad itself from the allied struggle in Boroda Indore and Bhavnagar. Everywhere the issue was about 10 to 12% wage cut. It was a concerted offensive on the part of the capitalists. But the workers were unable to give an equally concerted and a coordinated reply.

These struggles were fought in isolation. If the workers succeeded in averting dismissals and getting the wagecuts postponed (Ahmedabad) or partially enforced (Indore, Baroda, Beawar) it was entirely due to the initiative, the fighting stamina and the courage of the workers themselves. The partial success achieved shows clearly that a class conscious and organised lead in unifying the struggles and in winning broad sympathy for the same among the people, would surely have given the workers more concession at the cost of less sacrifice and suffering. Those who deny class struggle in and out of season, those who base their trade union policies on the principle that the capitalist is the "bigger brother of the workers" (Gandhiji in his Ahmedabad award 1937) are not only doing incalculable harm to the working class movement but are in the last analysis setting themselves in opposition to the struggle of the people for democratic rights.

Gokak & Pondicherry.

The struggle of the textile workers was not restricted to the centers in Gujerat and Central India. There were local struggles in Lucknow and Cawnpore in the North; in Akola and Nagpur (in the C. P.) and in Gokak and Pondicherry in the south. In Gokak and Pondicherry we have textile workers of backward areas coming into action for the first time. In Gokak

the workers are fighting in defence of their rights to form their Union. Their union was formed in July last by R. R. Bakhle who is well-known as a moderate leader of the N. F. T. U. school. But the British bosses of Gokak who also own mills in Bombay do not want the backward workers to learn the art of organising and defending their interests. They dismissed workers, clerks and peons on the preposterous plea that they were members of the managing committee of a registered Trade Union! Three thousand workers retaliated by striking in defence of their comrades......in the defence of the right to form and run a Trade Union.

The Government applied section 144 to Gokak and the neighbouring Villages. This speaks volumes for the indomitable courage and the tenacity of the workers. The strikers and their leaders have succeeded in rousing the sympathy of the people in the neighbouring towns of the Karnatak and organising successful relief work. The strikers have won the admiration of the people not merely because of the fact that they are fighting bravely for their own bread...but because they are setting up a model example for them in the struggle for democratic rights and liberties.

The textile workers of Pondicherry gave Indian workers the first example of a disciplined stay-in-strike after the model of the French workers. The solidarity and the determination shown by our Indian fellow workers in French India was so great that the French authorities had to come to terms with the strikers in 4 days. But British imperialism could not tolerate the success of a new weapon of workers struggle on the soil of India Under the plea of rescuing the British staff of the Rodier mill, the agent of British imperialism called upon the French authorities to send military and armed police against the stay in strikers in all the 3 mills which were on strike. The incendarism which followed was the handi work of this unholy alliance of the British and French imperialism, against Indian workers. The machine-gun fire of these incendiaries not only killed 150 workers and wounded 400 but also resulted in the burning down of the Savanna mill and in the destruction of property worth 2 lacs of rupees. Capitalism in the days of its senility runs amok and becomes the destroyer of the means of production instead of its builder!

Railway Workers, Fight Against Mass Dismissals.

Side by side with the offensive against the textile workers, the last year saw the further accentuation of the imperialist offensive in the dismissal of Railway workers. Towards the begining of the year the Railway board announced the retrenchment of another 4000 workers, thus bringing the total number of workers retrenched during the last 6 years to 112,000. Simultaneously with this a revised scale of reduced pay was announced for all new entrants in the Railway service. This evoked a wave of discontent among the workers on all the Railways. The All India Railway Men's Federation (A. I. R. F.) unable to secure any redress from the Railway Board was forced to postphone the question " General Strike or Court of Enquiry"

But the leaders of A.I.R.F. inspite of their talk of "keeping in readiness for ultimate measures", have no faith in direct action. While the militant unions within the Federation, headed by the G. I. P. Ry. Workers Union were demanding a general strike on the Railways, and were forming a Railway Retrenchment Committee as an organ of the United Front struggle of all the Railway workers against this new offensive, the leaders of the A.I.R.F. were once again approaching the Government for a Court of Enquiry. Under the initiative and the leadership of the G. I. P. Ry. Workers'

Union the campaign developed well on the G.I.P. Railway itself resulting in successful conferences at Man Mad, Bhusavall and Jhanshi. But the militants were unable to develop the United Front struggle on an extensive scale and thus to counteract the resistance of the reformist leadership of the other Railway unions to the development of a broad mass campaign for the convening of an All-India Railway Workers' Conference which could discuss the ways and means of carrying on the struggle against retrenchment.

B. N. Ry. Strike.

Here again it was the spontaneous initiative of the workers themselves which forced the issue of struggle in spite of an unwilling leadership. In October'36, the dismissal of 27 workers called forth a lightening stay-in-strike of 600 workers in the work shop at Bhojudia on the B. N. Ry. About 1000 workmen at 4 other stations struck work in sympathy. It was this incident which resulted in the dismissal of 1200 workers and the great B.N.Ry. strike of 1936-37 developed. For two months the union carried on unsuccessful negotiations with the Railway authorities demanding the reinstatement of the 1200 workmen, the withdrawal of the new wagecut and the new hours of work for certain categories of workers. The B.N.Ry. strike which began on the 13th of December and lasted for about 60 days, involved 60,000 workers and was the biggest strike of Railway workers since the G.I.P.Ry. strike of 1930. Despite the broad sympathy it evoked among the Railway workers all over India, and despite the moral sympathy of the Indian National Congress (I.N.C.), it remained an isolated struggle.

The Struggle of Jute Workers.

On the eve of this May Day, a widespread workers' struggle was in progress in another of India's big industries...viz the Jute industry of Bengal. The jute bosses are rapidly increasing their production to hand in big profits. All the Jute mills are now working full time (54 hours a week, but the wage cut imposed upon the workers when short time (40 hrs) was introduced in 1932, remains. Workers saw the boom and instinctively sensed that they were being done out of their rightful earnings. Here again it was the spontaneous initiative of the Jute mill workers of Sibpore (Howrah) and later of Budge Budge and Hoogly which was responsible for the mighty sweep and the strength of the struggle which developed during the last 3 months. There were no strong unions among the Jute workers and no trade union organisation worth the name. The rapid tempo with which the struggle developed, was entirely beyond the capacity of the Trade Union leadership. While the strike was spreading from mill to mill the leadership was still debating the advisability or otherwise of the slogan of General Strike. It was when the number of strikers had already gone to 80,000 that a United Front of all the Trade Union groups was formed at the instance of the A.I.T.U.C, resulting in the calling of the All-Bengal Jute workers' Conference and the formation of a Central Jute Workers' Strike Committee to conduct and extend the strike.

Police repression had followed in the wake of the rising tempo of the strike, The promulgation of section 144 in the entire jute mill area had made meetings, processions and even picketting impossible. Labour leaders were served with notices not to enter the affected area. Some were arrested. The new Bengal ministers under the new Constitution proposed an "impartial" board of conciliation, in case the workers went back to work. The workers went back to work but the ministry has not been able to do anything to the workers. The bosses are victimising the workers and the cases against the workers and their leaders have not been withdrawn.

Strikes in Minor Industries. Ambernath.

The outstanding among the strikes, which took place in industries other than the three basic ones, were, the strike of the dockers of Indian Steam Navigation Company at Calcutta and Digaghat, the strike in the tobacco factory at Bangalore and finally the strike in the Match factory at Ambernath. All these strikes were fought for two months and over and are examples of the tenacity with which Indian workers have now begun to fight against the attacks on their standard of living. The epic struggle of the Ambernath workers between July and October '36 is a model lesson to all workers as to how to fight back police repression. The workers of Ambernath, steeled in many a strike struggle, were this time fighting for the abolition of a wagecut imposed upon them a year back. When section 144 was promulgated they held their meetings 10 miles away in the neighbouring villages and used the opportunity to mobilise the support of the peasant masses. In spite of repeated lathi charges by the police, they persistently held demonstrations at the mill gates in which hundreds of women workers participated. They successfully counteracted the demoralising trick of the owners to distribute relief and milk to the women and children of the strikers. They moved the working class of Bombay to support their struggle by taking initiative in holding an Ambernath Demonstration in Bombay in which all working class and anti-Imperialist organisations participated. Inspite of all this they had to retreat. The combined forces of the Sweedish Match Trust and British Imperialism proved too strong for them. Their only success was that all the police cases against the strikers were withdrawn and the collector who had distinguished himself for extreme bitterness against the strikers was transfered.

Workers in Backward Trade Line up.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the last years struggle is the lining up of the workers from backward and unorganised trades and small industries under the banner of unity and struggle and for working class organisation. Section of workers in old industries, and artisans plying their ancient trades, who were so far outside the pale of the modern workingclass movement are for the first time coming forward in united resistance against capitalist and Government oppression, and are forming their unions. During the last one and half years, there have appeared on the scene of working class struggle, the figures of Dhobies, Bidi workers, Salt-pan workers, Ekka-and Tonga-wallas, Gold and Silverware workers, Municipal sweepers and even Toddy tappers. Undoubtedly this awakening is taking place under the influence of the widening struggle and organisation of the industrial proletariat; but in most of the cases this awakening has not been the result of the conscious efforts and help of the more advanced sections of the proletariat but is due to the untutored initiative of the backward workers themselves The general strike of the tonga walls, Thelawalas, Dhobies and stone breakers of Delhi in July last and the strike among the municipal sweepers of Gujerat, Bombay, Jubbulpore etc. have demonstrated in action the great possibilities of the awakening of the backward workers. The Industrial proletariat in India can best prepare itself for the task of coming forward as the champion of the democratic liberties of the people, by consciously associating itself with the struggles of that strata of the toilers which is nearest to it...namely the town workers and artisans in petty trades and the toiling peasantry.

The New Phase in the Peasant Struggle.

The rapid growth of the peasant movement during the last 18 months,

as reflected in the rise of the Karza Committee movement in the Punjab, Kisan Sangh movement in U.P. Behar, Bengal and Andhra is another indication of the new awakening of the backward section of the toilers under the stress of the burden of rent, debt and taxations, growing more and more unbearble because of the continued depression and agrarian crisis, the peasant masses are being driven to the last degree of desperation and bankruptcy. Land is passing into the hands of the money lenders; the credit of the peasant is falling; rural unemployment is taking apalling proportions, droughts are deepening into widespread famines. Under the lash of the deepening misery the peasant masses are once again seeking the path of struggle—but this time in a newer and higher form. The new rise of the peasant movement is taking place under the influence of the struggle of the working class. In their partial struggle the peasants are adopting the proletarian techinque of collective resistance. In chari (district Kolaba, Maharashtra) the peasants resisted the higher rental demand of the Khots, by organising successful' cultivation—strike—the peasants collectively refusing to till the lands of the Khots (Jan. ·36). In Bhita (near Patna) the peasants who grow sugar cane and sell it to the local sugar mill owners, organised an effective resistance to the owners who were not paying them a fair price and cheating them in the weighments. They struck—work—i.e., they refused in a body to sell sugar cane to the Mill and thus effectively cut off its supplies. The peasants stood out for 3 weeks in spite of arrests and intimidations by the mill authorities and ultimately succeeded in getting an effective settlement made through their Kisan Sangh. These examples of the recent struggles are the indications of the fact that the peasant movement is now tending the path of its natural development which is the path of its close alliance with the proletarian struggle and organisation. From last year the May—Day is already being observed by all peasant organisations all over India. This year it must become the day of joint workers and peasant demonstrations, wherever possible, as a symbol of their revolutionary alliance.

The General Position.

What are the main conclusions which emerge from this brief survey of the major working class struggles of the past year? These are as follows;—(1) *The tempo of the working class struggle is once more rising*—The workers in various industries are not only anxious to resist the growing attacks of the employees, but are developt ing spontaneous initiative in staring struggles. (2) *The workers are desirous of achieving unity on as wide a scale as possible in* order to fight the capitalist offensive against their standard of living (3) Under the influence of the rising working class struggle, *section of workers from backward areas and trades, and peasants are being drawn into the orbit of struggle and organisation.*

The Elections

The results and the experiences of the recent elections, especially in the Labour Constituencies, go not only to confirm these conclusions but enable us to formulate them more precisely. The immense desire of the working class to struggle, to wage a determined fight against their worsening conditions is documented in the overwhelming majorities with which they elected the candidates set up by the AITUC against those of the NFTU. The workers in the textile industry (Sholapur), on the Railways (GIP) and in the mining and Jute industries of Bengal have unequivocally voted for class—struggle and against class—collaboration, for revolutionary fight against wagecut, dismissals and Government repression and voted against the policy of reformism. Workers have proved their indomitable desire for class unity by voting down the representatives of

a union which pursues splitting tactics (Staff Union of the G.I.P.Ry.) and by voting down candidates who stood up on communal tickets in the Labour Constituencies.

Our Failings.

So far we have summed up the achievement on the credit side of the balance sheet of a year of struggle. But in order to be able to see the lessons and the tasks arising out of it, we must look to the debit side. What have been our chief failings?

We have seen that in the case of each one of the major struggles, the actual organisational strength and preparation has fallen for short of the tempo and the sweep of the developing struggle itself. The absence of strong mass unions has been the main weakness of working class organisation in India since the big mass unions of 1927 and 28 were smashed up after the struggles of 1929-30. If we look to the statistics of the growth of the number and the strength of Trade Unions for the last year, we shall find that the rise is insignificant. On the other hand the number and the duration of the strikes which took place during the same period, and the total number of men involved in them is quite considerable. Why then is there no growth of Trade Union organisation in spite of favourable conditions? There are some who maintain that under the conditions of repression in India, no stable mass unions can at all be formed. It is of course true that existing anti-working class legislations and the imperialist repression in general make the functioning and the growth of militant Mass trade Unions extremely difficult; but to develop a regular theory of the impossibility of developing mass unions is to be a defeatist is to give up the fight against the suppression of the rights of labour. In fact, it is on the basis of the struggle against the 'illegal' as well as the legalised suppression of the working class, on the basis of a persistent struggle for the partial demands and rights of labour, that mass trade unions can be built up and extended. It is the refusal to do the patient day to day work of a Trade Union, the refusal to enlist the sympathy and the support of the democratically minded people, in the workers struggle (by presenting it not as an excusively a struggle of a class but as a part of the general struggle for democratic rights) that is the main cause of the weakness of our trade union organisation. In this connection it is necessary to point out that the A. I. T. U. C. itself does very little to assist the unions to solve the daily problems of T. U. organisation and struggle. It is necessary for the A. I. T. U. C. to prepare for and devote an entire session to the problem of forming mass trade unions, in order to coordinate the activities of the entire available cader of T. U. organisations on this single task and to devise ways and means to make a sharp turn towards the struggle for day to day partial demands of the workers

Secondly, inspite of the growing urge and desire for unity among the working class, there has not been much progress in the task of realising this desire, in actually building up the united front. We have seen how the defeat of the various struggles of the workers is mainly due to the inability to link up the scattered struggles in the same industry (textile and Jute) and to develop a broad based united front movement against "Retrenchment and the revised scale of pay" on the Railways. (B. N. Ry. strike) Since the achievement of the united trade union congress and the unification of the G. K. Us. little progress has been made in the direction of unifying rival unions or uniting the two central trade union organisations, viz the N. F. T. U. and the A. I. T. U. C. In Jamshedpur for instance the metal workers are divided in 4 different unions. The same is the case on a number of Railways, and in various centres of textile and jute industry. This

acts as a serious obstacle to the development of workers' struggle. But while the workers are pressing for unity the chief hindrance to its realisation comes from the leaders of the N.F.T-U. and of the Gandhian unions.

But it is the supreme task of those who claim to stand for the unity of the working class, to counteract the inactivity and defeat the sabotage of the enemies of unity, by themselves taking the initiative and developing ten fold activity in carrying out the agreed tasks of the united front agreement. The forces working for unity are growing both among the masses of unorganised workers and within the Federation and its functionaries. The discontent with the class—collaborationist policy of the leadership grows. V. V. Griri and V. K. Kallappa standing as they do for a closer unity between the NFTU and the AITUC and for a more determined policy within the AIRF, are reflecting the attitude of the rank and file and of some of the functionaries of the Federation towards unity. It is necessary therefore, to intensify the struggle for the united front and trade union unity from the bottom, among the rank and file. The establishment of the united front struggle for the worker's immediate demands in every factory and mill, of all workers in all enterprises, in every centre and branches of industry—is the path which will enable the AITUC to build a solid mass base in the trade Unions, in the various localities, even before the Federation and the AITUC agree over unification. The use of *Joint Labour Boards*, if they could be made to function as organs of united front on a *provincial and local basis* would greately strengthen the struggle for unity in the different localities wherever parallel unions exist. Success in the struggle for unity would be greatly facilitated if trade union congress paid more attention to the work of winning over the member ship and local unions and officials of the Federation to the side of Trade Union Unity and work for the establishment of the United Front in action in the struggle for the workers' demands, between the local unions of the AITUC and the Federation.

Our third failing is, that in spite of the independent political activisation of the working class, inspite of the growing urge for anti—imperialist unity in the toiling masses in general, there has been little progress in the task of linking up the working class struggle with the national struggle. It is true that the All—India Trade Union Congress in its Bombay Session, resolved to build up the Anti—Imperialist United Front on the basis of the INC and the workers and peasant organisations—and to fight for the democratisation of the Congress and the Collectivs Affiliation of the workers and peasanet organisations to the INC. It is true that there have been occasional joint demonstrations of the INC and the workers organisations and that the workers have effectively participated in the Anti— Constitution demonstration. But how far has this resulted in activising and broadening in the the unity of the people struggling against Imperialism's New Constitution? How far have we progressed in building up the United National Front? We must admit that the progress is very litcle.

In the specific situation of today with the growing offensive of imperialism against the Indian people as a whole, with the rising tempo of mass struggle and the growing urge of the people to achieve unity of struggle... against imperialism, it is much easier to counteract the reformist and conciliatory resistence of some leaders provided the working class knew how to apply the tactics of the United Front effectively and in a new way. The balance of forces within the I. N. C. is tipped decisively in favour of the left, and of anti-imperialist struggle. The Congress stands committed today to National independece to a democratic State based on constituent assembly

to the independent organisation of the workers and peasants and to the achievements of their basic partial demands, and to the general policy of making the I. N. C. into a more democratic mass organisation. Today it is possible to use the advance already made, as stepping stones to further progress, as effective levers in defeating the reactionary resistance to the building up of a powerful fighting front of the people against Imperialism. Today anybody who talks of splitting or disintegrating the Congress with motives however laudable is the enemy of the United Front is one who is playing the game of Imperialism.

The working class will be able to fulfil its destiny and task of being the builder and the initiator of the U. N. F by boldly participating in the National Movement and in the I. N. C. Not to split but to strengthen the I. N. C. by vigorously assisting in the formation of new healthy lower units of the I. N. C. (primary Committees, Mohalla Committees,) to use these units as the basis for developing United Front struggle locally in collaboration with the local workers and peasants organisation for the achievements of partial demands that must be the immediate task of the working class. This would begin on the basis of U. F. from below the struggle for the democratisation of the I. N. C. and for the collective affiliation of the workers and the peasants organisation.

All minimum demands for which the workers and peasants are fighting to day are already implicit in the programme of the I. N. C. as it stands...for complete National Independence...and a democratic state. The task of the working class is to make these implication explicit through struggle. This struggle is not against the I. N. C. but within it and through it against Imperialism and its allies. The working class will participate in everyone of the I. N. C. campaigns and lend them its own characteristic impress. The working class would get the I.N.C. the masses who comprise it, to support everyone of its partial struggles...as part of the general struggle for the democratic rights of the people. The working class would thus be able to strengthen itself and its organisations, while at the same time acting as the builder of the united front against Imperialism. The stream of the working class movement would thus merge with that of the National Movement without losing its identity or independence, would strengthen and broaden itself while at the same time raising the National Movement itself to the level of the anti-Imperialist mass struggle leadinig to the final emancipation of the Indian people.

The Basic Tasks.

The basic tasks which faces the Indian workers today :—

1. *Build Mass Unions*—strengthen Trade Union organisation by patiently intensifying the struggle for the day to day grievences and demands of the masses.

2. *Build Up The Class Unity Of The Proletariat* against the capitalist offensive of wagecuts, dismissals and repression.

3, *Boldly Participate in the National Congress* and on the basis of the struggle within and through it build up the united national front to fight for national emancipation,

EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

By K. S.

A milliard—after all, this round figure does not express with full accuracy the increase in salary of teachers in elementary and secondary schools, as it was announced on April 10, 1936.

For the 1,022,900,000 rubles mentioned in the decree, signed by Stalin and Molotov, which alloted this some from the state funds to the improvement of teacher's wages, applies only to salaries paid during nine months of this year, namely: from April to December. On an annual average, the sum would of course be higher.

From April 1, onward, the teachers in elementary and secondary schools—numbering some 600,000—will find their salaries increased by 60,70 and 80 per cent, and even in some categories, by 100 percent. It is thus not a matter of pence, but a radical transformation in the standard of living of the teaching profession.

Last year, it was the medical men whose salaries were advanced in similar proportions; now it is the turn of the teachers. In real wages, the increase is even more significant, when one calls to mind the fact that, as a result of the progressive decrease in prices, the purchasing power of the ruble is nowadays considerably greater than only a year or even six months ago. Even last month, for example—and we cull this instance from the evidence of a household accounts, for such "minor" matters are hardly reported in the press there was 26 or 27 per cent. reduction in the price of cream, and a 15 per cent. reduction in the price of eggs in all government provision stores.

Naturally, this tremendous increase in the income of 6000,000 persons who, with their families, would constitute the population of a decent—sized city, is no accident, no philanthropic whim. It has its specific origin and its objectives.

Its preliminary conditions consisted of the success achieved in Socialist economy. Every new success in industry, which belongs to the people, is reflected in a definite improvement in the standards of the whole people, or of a vast sections of the people. The ruling peoples does not passively await an improvement of its lot from above. It improves it itself by means of its labour. Every increase in wages and salaries compel an increase in food—stuffs and other goods of consumption. And every increase in production of consumption goods means a corresponding development in heavy industry which has to supply the machinery and fuel to light industry and so on. And all this in its turn demands a higher level of the productivity of labour, for, in the last resort, it brings about the possibility of a rise in the standards of the whole people under Socialism. Thus, one may think the first successes of the Stakhanov Movement, if not for the actual fact of an increase in teacher's salaries, at least for their tremendous scope.

Another important fact which must here be taken into account is that nowadays—now that we have entered upon a period of preparation for the transition from Socialism to Communism, a period of the abolition of the distinction between mental and manual labour and between town and country—the question of teaching and of education in general plays a more

decisive part than ever before in the life of this Socialist Society.

This year alone, for instance, over a milliard rubles will be expended in the construction of 4,300 new school buildings.

With every step in advance of Socialism the importance of education grows, and so does the concern of the Soviet power for this branch of activity.

A few figures will illustrate the above contention. Expenditure on education during the last five years has been as follows:—

Year	Millions of Rubles'
1931 ...	... 3,125.
1932 ...	... 4,539.
1933 ...	... 5,519.
1934 ...	... 6,263.
1935 ...	... 8,310.

The complete figures for 1936 are not yet available, but it is already ascertainable that the figures for this year will be some milliards in advance of last year's.

The following items in the people's budget of 1935, are of particular interest. The cost per head to the Soviet Government of the studies of the 25 million pupils attending element tary and secondary schools is 63 rubles of those attending the lower secondary schools, 159 rubles and for those attending the higher secondary schools 261 rubles. As we have frequently stated, pupil's fees, to be paid by the parents, are unknown in the Soviet Union.

It is still more interesting when we come to the figures applying to technical and other high schools. For the studies of each of the 750,000 students in technical schools, the state expended last year 930 to 931 rubles according to faculty; for the half million students at colleges, the state expended per head from 1,997 rubles (for agricultural college students) to 2,323 rubles (students of medicine.) The question concerned here is not a matter of school fees paid by the state but of the actual maintenance of the greater part of the students by the state, in other words, of stipends. For the last purpose alone, the state (partly the U. S. S. R. and partly the various republics and cities) spent 1,778 milliard rubles in 1935.

Let us now compare a few figures relating to the growth or otherwise, of culture in Germany, formerly the land of "poets and thinkers", now under fascist rule, and the former dark land of tsarism, now developing under Bolshevism.

(Number of Students at High Schools Universities, Technical Colleges, Etc.)

	Germany	Russian Empire; Soviet Union.
1913/1914 ...	104,474	124,700
1930/1931 ...	137,175	295,500
1933/1934 ...	107,913	465,000
1934/1935 ...	89,000	513,800

Taking population figures into account, we find that in Germany, before the world war, the proportion of students to every 1,000 inhabitants was 1½, and in Russia only two-thirds. Nowadays, under fascism, Germany has almost sunk to the level of tsarist Russia, and will soon actally reach that level; for the registration of new students is now less than half of the pre—Nazi figure. In the Soviet Union, however—there are now three students to every 1,000 head of population—about twice the number prevailing in the period of Germany's highest cultural development.

But all this is merely the beginning of Socialist Cultural achievement. It is estimated that by 1941 there will be seven million persons who have received college or technical high school education. And the nearer the country approaches the higher level of Communism, the nearer will it also come to its educational objective; no adult without high school education an objective which is no longer visionary but is a practical task, to be accomplished within a decade or so.

Thus we see that the increase in salary for teachers is no random "gift" but both a stimulus to improvement of teaching and education generally, and above all, an improvement in their own qualifications.

For the pupils of to-day, in Soviet schools, will be called upon to perform in society greater intellectual tasks than ever before confronted the generations of the young. They will be called upon to become the master—builders of that society which assures every one of its members an abundance in both material and cultural resources. It will be a society which will not first educate people who must later search in desperation and anguish for an opportunity of selling their knowledge for a morsel of bread; but it will raise people for whom Society is impatiently waiting constructors, inventors, doctors, agricultural experts, masters of the machines, and masters of the fields painters, poets, scientists—people whose function it will be not just to accept tasks from society, but to give society new tasks to perform. They will be people who are called upon to show how labour which is to-day burdensome or distasteful may be replaced by the work of the machine. They will be people called upon to reduce the ills of life for all of us and to increase its joys. The Communist society of the future, which is now coming into being expects of them historically unprecedented preformances in technique and science, in the arts and in literature.

During nearly twenty years of Socialist struggle and construction, there have arisen those new cadres of hundreds of thousands of Soviet teachers who are capable—and they will develop their capacities even further—of educating the young people who attend their schools as the master—builders of the Socialist and Communist society and of their own happiness; capable of bringing them up to be people filled with courage and the joy of life, people of great creative thought and deed; people who feel, themselves to be members of the working class of the world, and who will act accordingly; people who will take unto themselves the sum total of culture of past humanity, and will then establish upon its base the new culture of communism, which shall be imcomparably more profund, vast and all, embracing.

For all this a hard struggle is necessary. That which has already been accomplished is but a begining. The teachers of the Soviet Union have a great historical mission to preform. The entire society will support them in the fulfilment of their mission. And in this direction the recent extensive increase in salaries will act as an aid and an incentive.

FASCISM IN JAPAN

AKHTAR ADIL

The Evolution and Role of the Bourgeoisie in Japan.

Japan had her first impact with Capitalism early in the 19th. century when the European and American Capitalists in search of new markets and sources of raw material and cheap labour knocked at her 'closed' doors and gained admittance at the point of the sword. This contact of Western traders with the merchants and feudal landlords of Japan led to the formation of the nucleus of the first Japanese bourgeoisie.

At this stage of her historical development, Japan, like the other independent countries of Asia, was a purely feudal State governed by Tokugawa, the all powerful and autocratic Shogun or hereditary ruler, holding sway over several petty lords and princes. The State power was largely exercised and controlled by members of the ruling caste, Samurai, the feudal aristocrats and the military gentry. The Samurais were closely connected by ties of blood with the mercantile bourgeoisie of the day, and it was this section of the Samurai merchants that formed the nucleus of the new industrial bourgeoisie of Japan.

The old feudal structure crumbled when to the hunger riots of the peasantry, which shook the country from within was added the threat of foreign guns from without. The ruling classes could only be saved from a peasant revolution and from foreign domination if the Shogunate was abolished and the national State consolidated. These tasks were fulfilled with the aid of trade and usurers' capital by the feudal landowners themselves. This was the so-called "Meiji Revolution" of 1868—actually the restoration and stabilisation of the imperial power.

Capitalist industry in Japan has all along borne the imprint of this compromise with feudalism to which it was indebted for its birth. The centralisation of capital, the growth and importance of banks—later merging with industrial capital etc, were not so much due to a corresponding concentration of production as the result of the bonds with feudal privileges and colonial aggression. The origin of several leading Japanese combines betrays their connection with the feudal past and with the remains of feudalism in present day Japan. The great Sumitomo firm dates from the sixteenth century. Shibusawa, the head of the "First Bank," was a close collaborator of the Shogunate. Mitsui was the former banker to the princes and the Shogunate. The Mitsubisi firm comes from a trading company founded in the feudal era by a prince of the Tosa clan. Matsukata owes his industrial activities to his connection with the semi-feudal Genro, or Council of Elders. Yasuda amassed his wealth by money- changing operation in the capital of the Shogunate, and further enriched himself by subsidizing the Russo-Japanese war with the assistance of Marshal Yamagata.

Always and in every country bourgeois nationalism, even during its most passionate fight for emancipation is connected with the idea of "national exclusiveness." Thus the tendency towards expansion may become apparent even in the early stages of the

struggle for emancipation of the national bourgeoisie. Within the limits of its own country the Japanese bourgeoisie was too feeble, too much hampered in its development by the remains of feudalism, too late in entering the historical world arena to entertain a firm hope of being able to measure its strength against the capitalist countries of Europe and America. A little help was required from outside to carry out the aggressive policy of the opposition Samurai and to compromise with the powerful capitalist states, to the extent of subjugating the weaker nations of Asia and with the riches of pillage abroad to buy off both feudal allies and those foreign powers which still continued to rob Japan herself. This "push from outside" came in the nick of time as a result of a peculiar historic situation.

When the Japanese had attempted to seize Formosa in 1847 in order to appease the Samurai opposition, Great Britain had made them return Formosa to China. But by the middle of the nineties the situation had changed. The desire to seize new colonies had grown very strong in England, but at the same time signs of future complications in Asia threatened to prove serious obstacles in Britain's way. In the first place Tsarist Russia and the United States had become very strong in the Pacific, and a new imperialist competitor, Germany, had made her appearance. Secondly, the situation in China itself was such that there was every danger of a repetition in the near future of the Taiping rebellion on a larger scale. The complication of the situation in China at a time when the hands of Britain were full in other parts of the world forced her to seek allies in Asia itself. Japan thirsting for military exploits and already on the road of European reorganisation could serve the purpose. England decided to conclude a conditional agreement with Japan, which would take effect a few years later if Japan fulfilled her obligations. The war between Japan and China started a fortnight after the signing of this Anglo-Japanese agreement of 1894.

Among the concessions which Japan obtained from China by the treaty of Shimonoseki were such points as the opening to foreigners of a number of ports in the basin of the upper Yangtze and the right of foreigners to open industrial concerns in China—points in which the Japanese themselves were not at the time so much interested, but for which the English had long been fighting. In exchange for these services Japan obtained from the English in 1899 the Anglo-Japanese agreement on the abolition of consular jurisdiction which was followed by similar agreements with other countries.

The compromise with the feudal lords did not permit the Japanese bourgeoisie to destroy the medieval structure and found means in new colonial seizures of reducing the sharpness of the contradictions between the rapidly growing large-scale industry and the preservation of feudal relics in the whole national economy of the country The rapid developement of capitalism during the ten years 1894-1904 facilitated the dissolution of the Samurai as a separate cast among the general mass of the population. While some remained in the country as petty landowners, others were drawn into industry, became the technical intelligentsia of the country, took up posts in the state services or enlisted as officers in the reorganised Japanese army. Inspite of differences with the landowners on the questions of agricultural taxes, bread prices and cartel prices of commodities, the bourgeoisie maintained their policy of compromise with the feudal lords and the recognition and support of the military monarchy whose sword had cleared a way for Japanese capital on the continent. The bourgeoisie-landowning political parties, inspite of all their mutual wranglings, became a perfectly acceptable means of cooperation between capital, semi-feudal landownership, and the military

and police monarchy which crowned the system. The period of the " struggle for the constitution " became a thing of the past and the so-colled constitution of 1889 was a worthy result in material form of the union between these classes. In 1895 when Yamagata decreed that War and Naval ministers could only be appointed from among the army and naval officers, and thus placed the fate of any cabinet in the hands of the military party, the "constitutional" bourgeoisie obediently bowed its head before the Marshal's boot, and cooperation between all the groups and factions among the ruling classes of Japan for colonial aggression was assured.

The ten years between the Russo-Japanese war and the world war saw a further growth of Japanese industry. From 1900 to 1914 the number of industrial workers rose from 338,000 to 1,086,000 and the total industrial power increased to about one million H. P. The value of Japanese exports was trebled and capital invested in industry and commerce rose from 887,000,000 to 1,983,000,000 yen of which no less than 42% was invested in industry. The process of concentration in industry can be seen from the fact that in 1909 the average number of workers employed in one factory was 28.3 and in 1914 it had risen to 31; the total average motive power had risen, during the same period, from 22.8 to 40.6 H. P. per factory.

But even quicker than this growth and concentration of the industrial basis of capitalism other processes were taking place owing to the fact that the developement of Japanese Capitalism was chiefly fed by colonial expansion, which became even more indispensable as the the contradictions between large-scale industry and the maintenance of feudal remains in the country became sharper. Under this influence the activities of industry itself were mainly directed towards colonial markets and the satisfaction of the military needs of expansion in Asia. The technical backwardness of the country was compensated for by the inconceivably brutal exploitation of the workers who came from peasant strata ruined by the feudal levies and the capitalist Market.

It is perfectly obvious that the means with which this compromise between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords was to be paid for could only be obtained by an extremely high degree of exploitation of the workers in industry and agriculture and an ever increasing burden of taxation. But this inevitably created the danger of social discontent and movements of protest on the part of the working people. In the face of this danger the ruling classes could not allow themselves the luxury of fighting one another.

The numerous peasant risings and the first wave of mass strikes in 1897 showed that without "firm authority" the bourgeoisie would not be able to maintain the slave driving conditions it had set up in industry, or of supporting the semi-feudal structure of agricultural relation in the village.

The Japanese bourgeoisie also understood that without "good relations" with the military nobility and without a strong monarchy it would be difficult to lead the country from one war to another to win victories in these wars, and to keep the fruits of these victories from the great powers which jealously guarded their preferential rights of robbing Asia. This caused the Japanese bourgeoisie to hold modestly the stirrup of the military-beaureaucratic monarchy. The bourgeoisie itself very soon acquired a taste for colonial conquest, even before it had rid itself of all traces of dependence. As Japanese capitalism gradually entered the system of Finance capital it whole-heartedly spurred on the soldiery to new victories on the continent.

182736

Another peculiar development of Japan was the fact that inspite of the

double yoke of feudal-capitalist oppression the country was not shaken by great movements of protest on the part of the labouring masses. Military victories and the penetration into colonial markets created conditions of speedy development of Japanese industry. The ruined villages assured the industry of an inexhaustible supply of almost gratuitous labour of women and children. The factories became a machine for swallowing up hundreds and thousands of peasant girls whom they ground down for two or three years and then flung back to the village consumptive or syphillitic invalids, replacing them with new batches of young villagers. Under these conditions there was nothing stable about the proletariat; its composition was always changing and was weakened by illiterate peasants and helpless women and children working under bondage contract. The few skilled workers necessary in light industry and the workers in munition factories were better provided for by throwing them sops out of the colonial profits. Add to this that the Japanese proletariat had no predecessor in the revolutionary arena in the shape of a radical bourgeois democratic movement, whose tradition would have facilitated the formation of a proletarian revolutionary party, Owing to the liason between the bourgeoisie, the feudal landowners and the monarchical bureaucracy, the proletariat was unable to utilise the struggle between these groups for the purpose of shaping its own class demands. All this explains why the socialist movement in Japan which first began to show itself in the eighties and nineties later quickly dwindled and after Japan's victory over Russia in 1904 confined itself to a very narrow circle of intellectuals who had practically no connection with the working masses. The grim police reaction was able to put an end speedily and brutally the workers' groups which came into existence in spite of the organic difficulties narrated above. Thus the revolutionary movement of the labouring masses had not yet become a force which might menace the foundations of monarchy, while bourgeois radicalism had exhausted itself with a "constitutional" compromise, and tranquillity reigned in the country.

(to be concluded)

THE UNITED FRONT IN BENGAL

N. Dutt Majumdar M. L. A.

The United Front Parliamentary Board (U.F.P.B) of Bengal scored a brilliant success during the last elections for the Bengal Legislative Assembly. It is instructive to analyse the results of the polling at centres where candidates were set up by the U.F.P.B.

Due to governmental manipulations, out of the eight seats reserved for labour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly only five, could be freely contested. Out of these five, four are for factory workers and one for colliery workers, Of the four constituencies for the factory workers there are situated

in areas where there is an overwhelming majority of jute workers. These jute workers along with the colliery workers have a long tradition of militant working class movement behind them. The jute workers specially are engaged in the most important industry of the province, which has practically a monopoly for jute over the whole world. Moreover, due to the fact that the owners of the jute mills are organised in a strong association of their own, the jute workers are the victims of the worst type of capitalism, that is, monopoly capitalism. We have to bear these important facts in our mind when we try to assess the merit of the U.F.P.B.

The United Front candidates were opposed by reformists of the National Federation of Trade Unions (N.F.T.U.), Moslem communalists and other independents. The actual votes cast for these are set out in the following table.

TABLE I

(Number of votes)

	U.F.P.B.	N.F.T.U.	Others	Total
1.	51526	9228	1360	62114
2.	26027	3022	2646	31695
3.	20197	3925	{ 1049 362	25533
4.	16230	2694	—	18924
5.	3492	—	{ 516 263	4271
Total	117472	18869	6196	142537

(The organisations to which the U.F.P.B. candidates belong are—1. Labour Party; 2,3,4, Congress Socialist Party; 5. Ganasakti Group)

From these figures, worked out in percentages of total votes polled in respective constituencies, we get the following table.

TABLE II

(Votes in % of total)

	U.F.P.B.	N.F.T.U.	Others
	83.0	14.9	2.1
	82.0	9·5	8.5
	79.1	15.4	{ 4.1 1.4
	85.8	14.2	-
	81.8	-	{ 12.1 6.1
Total for all consti—tuencies	82.4	13.3	4.3
Average % Poolled by each group	82.3	13.5	5.7
Standard Deviation	2.2	2.4	3.6

These numerical measures tell us the story of the brilliant success of the first United Front organisation in Bengal.

Well over a lac of workers from different areas stand behind the United Front. The reformists have been completely routed, only an insignificant minority (13.3%) of the workers have given them support. Moreover, the independents and the communalists are practically out of the picture, signifying thereby that the workers have no faith in opportunist individuals who overnight turn into "labour leaders."

The average percentage of votes polled by each group indicates the amount of popularity of the group as a whole. Here also the U.F.P.B. leaves the N.F.T.U. miles behind.

The standard deviation is a measure of the popularity or unpopularity of a group. The lower the standard deviation the more uniform is this popularity or unpopularity. In this respect also the achievement of the U.F.P.B. has been great. The high level of its popularity has been maintained practically intact in all the constituencies. The low standard deviation of the N.F.T.U. along with the low level of its popularity shows that it has been

equally unpopular in all the constituencies.

What is this great achievement due to?

The U. F. P. B. was set up on the initiative of the Labour Party, Bengal in order to present a united front in the election in the five labour constituencies. The organisations which put up candidates in the name of the U.F.P.B. are-Labour Party, Ganasakti Group and Congress Socialist Party (C. S. P.). All the candidates are members of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress (B. P. T. U. C.).

The main Controversy in the U. F. P. B. centred round the question of distribution of the five constituencies among the three organisations. The C. S. P. leaders wanted to get the best out of the bargain. They demanded the best constituencies for themselves and thus created a situation when the U. F. P. B. was seriously threatened with a split. The Labour Party and the Ganasakti Group, however, rose to the occasion and with a genuine spirit of unity accepted the two constituencies (Barrackpore and colliery) where they were completely unknown to the workers and had to break entirely new grounds. Thus the first obstacle was removed from the path to victory of the U. F. P. B.

As a step forward in putting the united front on a wider basis, the U. F. P. B. took up the question of its relation with the Indian National Congress as it is the foremost political organisation in the country. The suggestion for signing the Congress pledge and running the U. F. P. B. candidates on the Congress ticket was ruled out. It was pointed out in the discussions of the U. F. P. B. that the independence and the separate existence of the working class movement and leadership must be maintained at all cost and that the issue was not the question of a complete merger which was bound to lead at the moment to the supremacy of the right wing leaders of the Congress over the workingclass movement, but the real issue before the country was how to unite the diverse political forces which were working for the same cause of ending imperialism in India. It was, therefore, decided that the Congress Parliamentary Board in Bengal should be approached with the proposal of not running rival candidates in the labour constituencies against those of the U. F. P. B., but, on the contrary, it should give the latter the fullest support of the Bengal Congress.

A great surprise was awaiting the representatives of the U. F. P. B. when they opened their negotiations with the right wing leaders of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Board. It appeared that these leaders were already negotiating with the reformists of the N. F. T. U. and were seriously thinking of adopting them as Congress candidates on the labour front. In the course of the discussions with the leaders of the Congress Parlimentary Board, the representatives of the U. F. P. B. stressed upon the following points:—

(a) The Congress should not run its own candidates in the labour constituencies where there were already workingclass organisation enjoying wide support and sympathy of the workers. The Congress should rather build up a united front with these organisations.

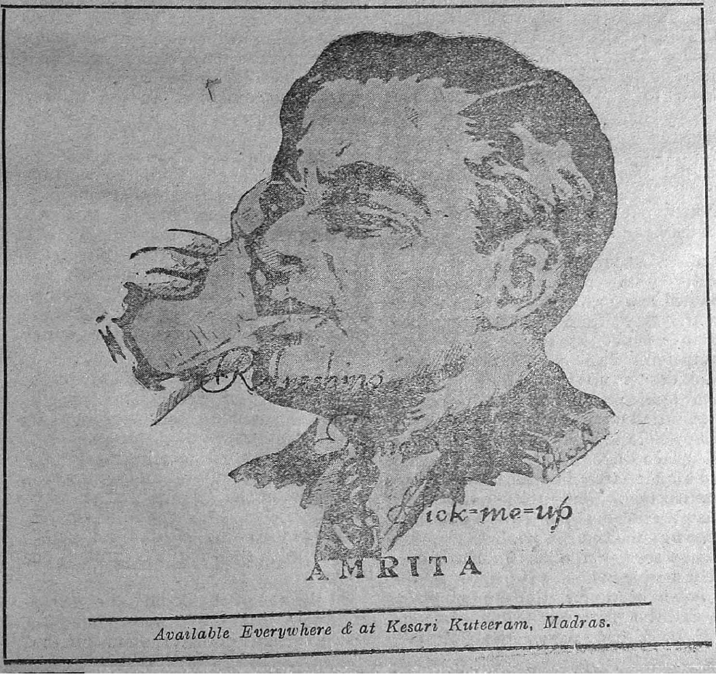
(b) The Congress, as the largest anti-imperialist body and enjoying a wide mass support in the country should seek alliance with only those organisations which were genuinely anti-imperialist and had been consistently fighting for the masses. According to this the Congress could only ally with the All India Trade Union Congress (A. I. T. U. C.), which was the only united organisation of the workers that claimed to represent all that was healthy and progres-

sive in the workingclass movement in India.

(c) By the act of giving their blessings on the N. F. T. U. candidates the Congress leaders would be not only jeopardising the cause of the anti-imperialist united front in general but also increasing the gulf already existing between the A. I. T. U. C. and the N. F. T. U., which would mean driving another wedge into the work of building up a united workingclass movement in the whole of India.

(d) This was an opportunity for the Congress to help bridging the gulf in the workingclass movement. Instead of having private talks and negotiations with the N. F. T. U. candidates, the Congress leaders should ask them to approach the B. P. T. U. C. and come to an agreement with it, after which an agreed list of candidates could be jointly put before the Congress Parliamentary Board to support.

(e) It was also made quite clear to the leaders of the Congress Parliamentary Board that the support given by it to the U. F. P. B. candidates should be purely in the nature of an alliance and that they should on no account be bound by the Congress pledge or the Congress whip.



It is to the credit of the Congress leaders in Bengal that they accepted the above viewpoint and formed an alliance with the B. P. T. U. C. and the U. F. P. B. on the basis of mutual help and support. The N. F. T. U. however, chose to run its own candidates against those of the U. F. P. B. Thus the second obstacle in the way of applying the principle of united front on a broader basis was removed.

Upto this the unity within the U. F. P. B. was fairly complete. The next logical step forward would have been to form a central campaign committee, lay down a uniform plan of campaign for all the five candidates, pool all the available resources and distribute them to the best advantage of the U. F. P. B. as a whole, But unfortunately, this step was not taken and the U. F. P. B. naturally ceased to function any further. Thus the whole of the achievement of the U. F. P. B. merely boiled down to a " gentlemen's agreement for non-aggression. " Even this simple agreement was broken by the three C. S. P. candidates, two of whom signed the Congress pledge without the knowledge of the U. F. P. B. and actually put themselves up as Congress candidates during the elections.

The Labour Party and the Ganasakti Group candidates, however, remained true to the cause of the united front. Right from the beginning they set up a joint committeee for election campaign. Their election programmes were drawn up along the same lines with local variations. By a proper distribution of all available resources it was possible to achieve victory in a far off place like the colliery district and a huge area like the Barrackpore constituency. The unity was further strengthened by the two candidates choosing the same symbol for the election — " Panja " (humanhand). What a tremendous advantage would it have been for the united front if all the five candidates of the U. F. P. B. had chosen the "Panja" as their symbol. The "Panja" with its five fingures would have symbolised in one word the whole of the U. F. P. B.

How did the workers respond to the elections ?

Politically the workers in the jute and colliery areas are backward. They are militant fighters no doubt, but the level of their consciousness was found to be rather low. This may be due to the fact that they had been cut off from organised working class movement for a long time. The whole campaign was, therefore, mainly based on the immediate demands of the workers and the main issue raised in election fights was the issue of class struggle versus class collaboration. The rank and file workers immediately responded to our call. Their active participation in the election campaign helped to raise the election fight to a higher level-it became a direct fight against the employers. In the colliery areas the workers in a number of coal mines on their own initiative went on strike immediately after the elections were over. They took up the demands of our election platform-e.g., minimum wages of Rs. 30-per month, women's right to work inside the colliery, etc. At one place the workers on strike forced the employers to increase the wages by 8/-as. per day. At another place the workers drove back the lathi charges of the chaprasis of the mine-owners.

Our policy of direct mass approach had the effect of rousing tremendous enthusiasm among the workers. At Barrackpore the workers on their own initiative organised meetings and demonstrations, composed and sang songs in support of the "Panja". The workers themselves took the initiative in hanging in working class areas paper lanterns with the "Panja" symbol on them.

On the day of the polling the workers knew that they were going to exercise a right given to them for the

first time in the history of India. Unlike the petty bourgeoisie, whom one would have to coax and carry in cars to the polling station, workers in thousands flocked round the mills which were turned into polling stations for the elections. But to the utter disappointment of the workers they found that a vast number of them were refused the right of voting on some technical ground-which was merely a clever manipulation of the employers who were responsible for sending the list of qualified voters of their respective mills mines or workshops. But in spite of all the trickery, intimidation and even malhandling by the agents of the employers, the workers rallied round the polling boxes with the "Panja". The crushing defeat of the agents of the employers and the government as explained in the beginning of this article is a true index of the militancy and the determination of the workers to fight back the employers.

The election fights gave us an insight into the communal attitude of the workers. Workers do not bring in the question of religion when they fight for bread and freedom. A few facts will make this amply clear. The jute workers are predominantly Moslems. But out of the five candidates of the U. F. P. B. only one is a moslem. Many of the defeated candidates were Moslems, but the majority of the workers preferred Hindu candidates because their's was a fight for bread and freedom from exploitation and they refused to confuse this great fight by raising the question of religion. At Barrackpore, my own candidature was supported by Abul Kalam Azad as well as by local prominent Moslem leaders. The Moslem communalists were busy at Barrackpore trying to raise communal issues and foment a communal riot on the eve of the polling. The opposition reached its climax when the Imam of Jagatdal mosque asked the devotees from his holy seat to vote for "cycle" (symbol of Moslem candidate of the N. F. T. U. at Barrackpore) and was retorted by the workers that "the place for *namaj* (worship) was not the place for vote-propaganda." It was certainly a grand thing to see the rank and file workers snub the communalists by saying-"*Yehdeen ke larai nahi hai, roti ki larai hai*" (This is not a fight for religion, this is a fight for bread.)

The U.F.P.B. has died a natural death—a sad ending of a short but brilliant career. But it clearly shows us what a great potentiality lies hidden in the conception of the United Front. Even a simple "gentlemen's agreement" produced results beyond all expectation. It also demonstrates that agreements on the basis of the United front reduces confusion in the minds of the workers to its minimum. Once the workers are simply faced with the question of choosing between class struggle and class collaboration, they do not for a moment hesitate to side with the programme of class struggle and throw out the reformists, communalists and agents of the government and the employers. Though the U.F.P.B. could not do much by way of organising the masses, its heritage has not been lost to us. Today we realise that the general strike of the jute workers is an impossibility without a united central jute strike committee of all the left groups and parties. The march of history today lies along the path of United Front. All the world over—in Spain, in France, in England, in America-we see the banner of United Front unfurled, its tremendous force crushing down reaction and fighting for democracy and independence. We in India must fall in line and say—One with the United Front.

EXIT FROM MARXISM

A Reply to Com. Spratt.

A MARXIST

Comrade Spratt in his article "The Ethics of Marxism" claims, albeit with characteristic modesty, to have made a new contribution to Marxist thought.

He maintains that Marxisms has lost much both in clarity and in popular appeal through its rejection of "human ethics." He believes that Socialism can and must be justified by reference to what he describes as "super—class ethics". "If what we do cannot be justified by ordinary standards we should be wiser not to do it". "Marxism must be prepared to defend its view by an appeal to ethical criteria." It cannot have a separate ethical system. Our actions in the struggle for Socialism must be sanctioned by the general ethical system and ultimately by the "individual conscience" as the final arbiter between good and bad.

Those who have followed Spratt's long and rather rambling argument up to this point i.e. the exaltation of the "irreducibly individual conscience" (whatever that may mean) will not have failed to notice some confusion between ethics concieved as a criteria of value, and ethics as a guide to human action. It is with the former that Spratt with his characteristic love for the abstract is chiefly concerned—"I am not concerned primarily with practical questions" "If we consider practice or concrete questions of detail we cannot get expressions of a purely ethical character."

Here what appears to us is Spratt s point of departure from Marxism and from Earth into Heaven where he has taken up his position alongside of God in contemplation of the earthly scene from the perspective of "super—class ethics", for questions of "purely ethical character" belong only to god, that is to say they simply do not exist as we shall try to show.

In his attempt to arrive at a universal system of pure ethics Spratt is led to differentiate between the economic motives of hostile classes the ethical ideas which they have in common and in so doing he extracts all content all reality from these ethical ideas and leaves us with formal abstractions—empty shells which may then be recognisably similar even though belonging to hostile classes, just as if you performed the same operation with say the Greek conception of equality and the equality of the bourgeoisie, but such abstract similarity would have no relation to history or to truth. And this Spratt in his saner moments knows as well as any Marxist. Why then this tendency to make abstractions? What has caused Spratt to set off in pursuit of meaningless nothings and induced him to perform such extraordinary mental convolutions. It is better to try and find some explanation than to be content with criticism. His criticism of Hecker gives us a clue.

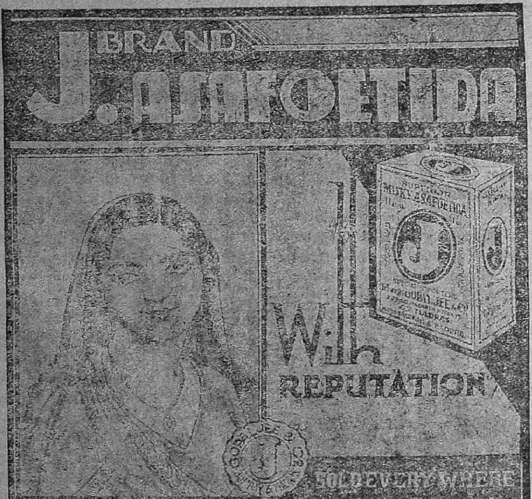
Spratt has quoted Lenin with approval "At the basis of our morality lies the struggle for the strengthening and completing Socialism. Our morality is that which serves the struggle which unites the toilers against every petty property interest. For us morality lies in the compact discipline of solidarity and the conscious struggle against exploitation" "This of course" says Spratt" is entirely appropriate as the outlook of those working for Socialism in this period. But it is entirely unsound to look upon it as Hecker does,

as a separate ethical system. It is the application of the general ethical system to these conditions. Otherwise it has serious defects.

Now neither Hecker nor any other Marxist has ever claimed that here is a separate ethical system permanently valid for all time. It is essentially a fighting ethic vitally related to this present period (as every ethical system is related to its historical context whether Stoic or Epicurean or bourgeois or what) a period that is to say of intensifying class struggle. And not until classes and all forms of exploitation of man by man have been abolished will it be possible to relinquish this fighting ethic in favour of an ethical system adapted to the stage of universal human emancipation.

But what of Spratt's "general ethical system"? Is he wrong in demanding a standard of universality as his criterion of Socialism. Clearly he is quite right. We shall show that it is Marxism alone which can provide such a standard. Spratt's difference with Marxism on the contrary consists in the fact that he has failed to provide any such standard but has replaced it with a hollow system of ethical abstractions.

How does Spratt arrive at his general ethical system? The system which Spratt formulates is "human ethics"—rooted in those constant elements in human nature and society which have remained unchanged more or less throughout the ages. He admits that the character of human association has changed very greatly but he says it must have always contained some common elements. "here we have perhaps the possibility of something which can be regarded within our limits as a universal ethics". He believes that "common factors can be found in the ethics of hostile classes of society, But in order to arrive at these he must necessarily differentiate between the



economic motives of hostile classes and the ethical ideas which they have in common. Nevertheless he can persuade himself that "not only the verbal forms but the ethical ideas will be very similar" even while he admits that "as there will be differences of opinion" on what he considers to be the " non-ethical factors—psychological economic, political etc, the practical conclusions of the two classes will differ considerably. "

If this is so, then what significance is there left in a system of ethical ideas from which all psychological, economic and political content has been extracted. Ethics is after all a science which concerns itself with human behaviour in a real world of events and as such must take account of all the psychological, economic, and political motives which determine human conduct. Otherwise it remains in the keeping of Spratts metaphysical conscience.

What reality can be found in the possession of common ethical conceptions when their content is different? What significance does Spratt attach to a formal similarity of ethical ideas-loyalty, freedom, equality etc the practical implications of which in a class-divided society will be contradictory. The only significance can be the satisfaction of his own yearning for the super-natural. Spratt is seeking to abstract ethcis from life. Neither Marxist ethics nor any other system of ethics can be so abstracted. Take away the psycholgical, economic, and political motives which determine human behaviour and you are left with a " science " which only apply to that part of man's nature which lies outside the scope of economics psychology and politics, that is to say outside the scope of man's life altogether. Thus Spratt in his attempt to set up a system of " super-class ethics ,' out of prevalent ethical conceptions has been driven by the sheer force of logic to deprive these conceptions of all their actual and historical significance because these are distasteful to his purpose of erecting them into universal criteria. He has been forced to abandon materialism altogether.

He considers himself " justified in confining himself.to propositions of a certain degree of generality. For if, he says, we consider practice or concrete questions of ideal " we cannot get expressions of a purely ethical character ".

But this is precisely what Spratt is not justified in doing. For ethical conceptions of loyalty, freedom, justice the rights of man etc can only be assessed by reference to considerations of class, of economic interest social circumstance etc. interpretations of these are not constant in relation to some ethical form but vary according to class standpoint just as the rights of man vary in relation to the rights of property and the right of expropriation.

Marxism repudiates all previous ethical systems not because it does not believe in justice, in equality, in service self-sacrifice, loyalty etc but because these cannot mean the same thing for an exploiter and an exploited class, and as he admits himself become " the subtle defences of tyranny and oppression. We are conscious of the futility of preaching self sacrifice, and service for the good of mankind within the framework of an economic system in which the means of production are monopolised for the benefit of an infinitely small minority. We have experienced the tyranny of bourgeois justice (and so has Spratt) as the defence of capitatist property relations and the attack on the rights of workers to organise and act in their own interests.

Everybody wants freedom for workers as well as capitalists so everybody is against restrictions to freedom, argues Spratt. And out of this common desire Spratt extracts his "ethical principle." But the point that so persistently obtrudes itself on Marxists is that capitalists want freedom to exploit while workers want freedom from

exploitation. Everybody thinks that all should have education health and leisure though in practice he admits the workers do not get it and the capitalists stand in the way. But the fact that there is a common prejudice in favour of it is apparently sufficient for Spratt's "human ethics". All love liberty, the depressed perhaps a little more than the capitalists, but these are "small differences," for Spratt is concerned to base a theory upon them. He cites the example of employer and worker! The former wants to reduce wages and raise prices and "will give reasons of an ethical character to justify his conduct." But in the same way his workers will condemn his ca' canny while approving of their own." (!) "The two sides believe in the same principles but are led by more powerful motives to act in ways which contradict their own." "We have to remember human frailty" preaches Spratt "We often deny to others what we insist on having ourselves."

Here then is a glaring illustration of what happens if we divorce ethical ideas from their real content and then seek to erect them into a system of super-class ethics to act not only as our criterion of good and bad but also of human conduct of classs action.

"We often act or give decisions in concrete cases," continues Spratt, in ways which we could not consistently defend on ethical grounds". It does not appear to him to have questioned the validity of these principles in application to a class-divided society. And yet he can say that "People fight not because their ethics are different but because their interests are different. "We repudiate direct appeals to justice not because the idea is objectionable but because in a class divided society it has no application." We fear that economic interests are more powerful motives of human conduct and class action than Spratt's superclass ethics. They are a rational and reliable guide as Scientific Socialism can and has demonstrated. Spratt's dilemma arises only through his entirely un-Marxian and un-materialist desire to extract from ethical principles everything which defies his purpose of erecting them into a universal system.

Why then has he resorted to this proceedure in order to arrive at a "universal system" to serve as his "criterion of good and bad."? Because he thinks that Marxism provides no universal standards by which Socialism can be judged, and so he has gone off to look for some thing elsewhere.

If however he will come back to earth it might be possible to explain to him that he does not require to perform these operations with ethical ideas in order to persuade us or anyone else that there is a general ethical system, a common standard of values by which Socialism can be justified. Marxism itself provides such a standard.

It is precisely Marxism that enables us now, for the first time in history to speak not in abstractions but in concrete terms of universal good, of universal brotherhood, justice, equality, etc as opposed to justice and brotherhood amongst the Patricians, equality amongst the barons, or equality amongst the capitalists, because it provides a practical alternative to all preceeding economic and social orders (with their various ethical systems) in which it will be possible for these ethical "goods" including health, education, leisure etc to be accessible to mankind universally as opposed to a particular class.

Spratt thinks that a class system of ethics in so far as it separates itself from the general ethical system is open to grave philosophical objections but it is only his contempt for dialectical materialism that has landed him in these difficulties. For ethical systems are not "above" class systems and independent of them. The peculiarity of Marxian ethics is that while it negates all previous ethical systems it also

fulfills them-renders them universally applicable.

Unlike bourgeois ethics which in a class divided Society postulate such ridiculous notions as equality, freedom, and the equal rights of man, while depriving the majority of mankind of the material means to happiness health leisure etc. Marxist ethics begin with the ethic of an exploited class, one consequence of which is the expropriation of the capitalists.

Only when the material means to the pursuit of happiness are secured to all and exploitation of man by man has been abolished will it be possible to speak in terms of universal human ethics..

For Marxists there must necessarily be a sharp dividing line between the pre-socialist and the Socialist epochs of human history. The pre-socialist epoch is a history of class relationship patrician and slave, bourgeoise and landlords, workers and capitalists. The various ethical systems that have prevailed during this period cannot by the simple process of abstracting their content provide us with an ethical form which can be used as our universal standard. For only after the class-struggle has been carried through to the Soclialist or rather communist epoch of history will it be possible to realise the "right of man" on a universal scale. Only when the necessary material means are accessible to man universally will it be possible to evolve an ethical system incorporating the formal bourgeois conceptions of equality freedom and brotherhood. We do however claim to be justified by such standards of Universality, for Marxism can demonstrate that they are capable of achievement. If anyone but the Marxists could demonstrate that they are capable of practical achievement it would be open to them to claim justification by the same standards of universality but they can't.

But until we have arrived at this epoch, the ethics of Marxism are the fighting ethic of an exploited class. Assuredly it is a fight for the equal rights of man for liberty equality and brotherhood but in making this claim for the majority of mankind and for posterity we cannot lose sight of the fact that (a) it is the organised and disciplined exploited class that will carry through this struggle and (b) it implies the expropriation of the exploiters, the denial to the capitalists of their "right" to exploit.

While Marxism claims no greater permanency or validity for its fighting ethics than the duration of the period of class struggle it does claim that these standards are indispensible for a truly universal ethic and its "political obligation" proceeds from this fact. Our ethical standards are necessarily related to time and space, to economic circumstance and political necessity. The fighting ethics of Marxism to which Spratt takes exception on the grounds that they are independent of "general ethical system" are no more permanent than the class struggle is permanent but they are none the less vitally and inescapably related to our own universal standards for humanity. Just as our struggles, here and now not for abstract ideas but for specific "goods" i.e., material means to secure health, education, leisure etc are a vital part of the struggle for universal economic and political emancipation the substitution for economic necessity and political dictatorship of the pre-conditions for the age of freedom in human history.

In conclusion then, when Spratt talks of making Socialism "more easily accessible to mankind generally by basing it systematically on familiar ethical principles" it seems clear that he has not realised that these "familiar ethical principles" in so far as they are really equalitarian and favourable to Socialism derive their content from the Socialist movement itself. The fact that they are becoming increasing-

ly acceptable to many to day is the result not of his process of boiling them down and extracting the content from them, but because they have had a new content infused into them. Whereas thay had become increasingly barren in a period of capitalist decline they have derived a new significance as a result of the riding power of a new class. In short the prevalence of equalitarian ethics amongst all sections of Society that Spratt has noticed is a direct consequence of the struggle of the proletariat within existing society. Further we must point that it derives its validity not by reference to the "irreducibly individual conscience" or by considerations of what is desirable for mankind in an utopian sense so much as from the fact that the working class movement has a scientifically directed goal the achievment of which will secure the material basis for universal emancipation of mankind and hence of a truly equalitarian ethic.

This is the equalitarian eithic, the universal standard by which Marxism claims to be justified and it is a foreshadowing of these which Spratt has observed as having an increasingly popular appeal. (Unless this estimate is correct the prevalence of such equalitarian ethics at the present time would scarcely mean than their prevalence during and after the bourgeois democratic revolutions. In any case however Spratt's conscience may lead him to interpret them, without the destructive and at the same time reconstructive dynamic of a new class force their bourgeois content will remain.)

But much as Spratt dislikes the phraseology of dialectical materialism we must point out that the contradiction of this universal ethic is no less apparent in the shape of fascist dictatorship, and it is this which calls forth the necessity of sharpening the weapons of our fighting ethics at this particular stage.

Hence we must repudiate any tendency "to obscure class differences' to set up super-class ethics as our standard and to substitute for the struggle for immediate class issues a struggle for universal ethical perfection.

While there is no space here to discuss the many other subjects referred to in Spratts article-Marxist meliorism and the inevitability of progress, Biology and the Conscience, the State and the Individual etc.) We must also repudiate his tendency to substitute a mystical conception of individual conscience for reason, social consciousness etc. (We note that but for his "conscience" whatever that was Marx might equally well have tossed up for which class he was going to fight:)

To sum up then the foregoing argument seem to us to be correct implications of the two statements of Engels and Lenin quoted by Spratt.

"We recognise that at a given time the morals of one class are objectively progressive and revolutionary, whereas the moral concepts of a class that has outlived itself are reactionary"

—Engels

"At the basis of our morality lies the struggle for strengthening Socialism. Our morality is that which serves this struggle, which unites the toilers against every petty property interest.

"For us morality lies in the compact discipline of solidarity and the conscious struggle against exploitation."

—Lenin.

AMENDMENT TO PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT

Kamal Sarkar.

Secy. Labour Party Bengal.

Asst. Secy. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

For about a decade now, the National Congress has looked upon the Labour movement, at least in theory, as its most important ally in the fight against Imperialist domination. Of the most eminent Congress leaders of the present day, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose have presided over sessions of the All India Trade Union Congress. Nehru, in more than one of his Congress presidential addresses, has stressed the need for the Congress to encourge the formation of Peasants, Unions as well as Workers' Unions, and cooperate with such as already exist, so that the day to day struggle of the masses might be carried on the basis of their economic demands and other grievances. The identification of the Congress with the economic struggle of the masses will bring us, it has been emphasised, nearer to them and nearer to freedom than any thing else. At the last session of the Congress at Faizpur, a resolution was enthusiastically adopted, congratulating the brave workers of the Bengal Nagpur Railway who were so heroically conducting the strike at the time. The Congress Working Committee lately felicitated the Jute Workers of Bengal on the tremendous strike they organised against the iniquities of the mill-owners. It will not be unfair, in these circumstances, to deduce that the Congress does look upon the Labour movement as an indespensable and a most important auxiliary in the national struggle. It was the growing influence of this tendency which encouraged the representatives of *all* Trade Union and working class groups to join the National Congress and endeavour to develop it as the United National Front of the Indian People.

The Amendment of Noyce.

A recent debate in the Indian legislative Assembly, however, comes to us as almost a disillusionment. On the 3rd of April 1937, Sir Frank Noyce, the member for Industries and Labour brought in an amendment to the Payment of Wages Act which had come into force on the 28th March, 1937, just in time to be invoked, if necessary for the strikes which were apprehended for April 1, the day of the nation-wide 'Hartal' proclaimed by all anti-Imperialist organisations. One of the purposes of the Payment of Wages Act is the penalisation of lightening strikes, and Section 7 provides that if ten or more employed persons acting in concert absent themselves without due notice and without reasonable cause, the employer may deduct from their wages an amount not exeeding their wages for eight days. Absence of duty has been defined as absence from the place where the employee is expected to work. The amendment was, therefore, brought in to make it impossible for workers to remain on the premises where they are employed and yet down their tools. As Sir H. P. Mody put it during the debate, with that clarity which marks capitalist definitions of the right attitude to labour problem: "Obviously, when it is becoming the fashion to indulge in stay-in-strikes, the situation is altered, and if the Act was left as it is, then the employer would not be entitled to make any deductions so

long as the employee was on the premises, but was refusing to work. This has been sought to be set right by this very simple and innocent little measure." (Legislative Assembly debate, 3 April, p. 2647.) This "Simple and innocent little measure" was therefore intended to deprive the workers of a right which has been so effectively excercised in different parts of the world!

Joshi and Ranga's Stand.

To the credit of Mr. N. M. Joshi and Professor Ranga, it has to be said that they tried to palliate this obnoxious amendment by attempting to provide in it that if the workers, being on the premises, refused to work for some reasonable cause, they should not be liable to victimisation contemplated in the measure. They put their case very moderately, as when Joshi said: "If a workman goes to a factory and finds that there is sufficient cause for him to refuse to do the work, the employer should be bound to pay him." (Ibid. p. 2642.) Ranga referred to "the extraordinary example "of the Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway who, he alleged, "was trying his best to victimise the labourers........and even after they had chosen to return to work, to cause every kind of annoyance in order to force them to go again on strike." He went on to ask: "Faced as we are with such employers where is the guarantee that these employers will not make an arbitiary use of their judgment in deciding whether worker is really refusing to carry out his work or not?" When "reasonable cause" is discernible, it was pleaded gently and persuasively that the worker should have the right to strike even though he is on the premises of employment; but it was all of no avail. The Labour Spokesmen in the Assembly should have put up a frontal opposition, but they preferred to press their amendment which was negatived by 52 against 42 votes.

Bulabhai "The Villain of the Piece."

While the capitalist magnates like Sir H.P. Mody and Sir Cowasji Jehangir made no bones about their attitude —they said as clearly as one could that they would have no truck with strikes and similar weapons—the speeches from the Congress Benches were strangely *inept.* The Congress leader, Bulabhai Desai proved ultimately to be—if the expression is permissible—the villain of the piece. Just as on the occasion when the Payment of Wages Bill became law, he suggested, suavely, that a formula to satisfy both sides should be adopted; the capitalists, he said, need not fear the amendment, the fear is more imaginary than real and the lawyers will see that everything is alright—but since the fear is there, why not have an "agreed" amendment? It was all said—clearly, in the manner of the astute lawyer that Bulabhai is, and before the Joshi's and the Ranga's could recover from their surprise the Congress chief whip, Mr. B. Das suggested to the President that there should be a short adjournment to get this "agreed" amendment formulated.

Cooking Up An 'Agreed" Formula.

Delicious discussion over the luncheon—table followed, and after the recess, the redoutable leader of the Congress Party moved the amendment providing for penalising workers who refuse to carry on the work "in pursuance of a stay—in—strike or for any other cause which is not reasonable in the circumstances." The President expressed his readiness to allow this "lightening" amendment, but only on condition that all parties were agreeable. Poor Joshi—this time abandoned by Ranga for whom, perhaps, Congress "discipline" had proved too strong—rubbed his eyes, and said he felt "it is difficult" (p. 2658), that "it makes it a bit difficult for me if you say that

either I must accept the amendment or it drops," pleaded that he had only a few minutes to consider the questions, that it was "difficult to understand the full implications of this amendment," and begged the chair for an adjournment, as there was no great urgency about the matter. But no, the Olympians of the Assembly had made up their minds.

It is a little unusual that both during the time when the Act was first passed and when the amendment also became law, Bulabhai Desai was the inventor of magic "formulas". We admire his magical powers, no doubt, for didn't he pour down the throats of Congress members a reference to "stay—in—strikes" which even Imperialism could not dare incorporate in the amendment? Verily, Bulabhai is an asset, a legal giant whose equal the Assembly has not seen and Congress supporters all over the country are lost in admiration!

Where has Bulabhai Led the Congress.

But when the reverie engendered by Bulabhai's magic evaporates one gets a shock. Why does the Congress Party, through its leader, support an amendment which is intended, most definitely, to curtail the rights of the workers? Is this an historic way of fighting for democratic rights, the right to strike being certainly a democratic right? Is this how the Congress Assembly members are preparing to wreck the slave Constitution? Must they be allowed to reject, with impunity, both the letter and the spirit of the Congress Election manifesto and the resolutions of the Faizpur Congress, which they have so grossly repudiated?

This poisonous amendment was introduced by Sir Frank Noyce as "a little measure" with which he wished to wind up his official career. The Congress Chief whip, B. Das, openly proclaimed his sympathy with the views Cowasji Jehangir and Sir. H.P. Mody, and had the temerity to suggest most ignorantly, that the Government of India was prepared to give effect by legislation to all the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour! (p. 2657.) The leader of the Congress Nationalists, M. S. Aney, forgot the humiliation to which he was subjected in calcutta by the agents of Imperialism —and Imperialism is only as Lenin said the highest stage of capitalism-and characterised the amendment as "as this little piece of legislation." Is there no remedy for such infamous ignorance which costs so much to the national movement?

The debate on that day was also characterised by repeated eulogies of of Sir Frank Noyce and his work, not the least by Congress members headed by their leader. Their eulogy was so fulsome that Sir Muhammad Yakub who confessed he took no interest in labour questions, thought that the testimonials which Noyce got from Bulabhai Desai and M. S. Aney were proof positive of the great work Noyce had done, chivalrously and impartially, for Indian labour. There ought to be a limit, one feels, to such inanities.

Appeal to A. I. C. C. and Nehru.

I appeal to the All-India Congress Committee and in particular to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to review the work of the Congress Assembly party on April 3 in regard to the anti-labour measure, and bring Bulabhai and Co to book if it is found, that what they said and did, was blatantly against the policy of the Congress!

Let not Bulabhai get away with it. The President and leading functionaries of the National Congress have been recently taking disciplinary measures vigorously. Here is Bulabhai who has helped to forge a new fetter for the Indian Working class, who has showered compliments on Sir Frank Noyce. Is this the way

to build up mass contacts? Is this the way to fight for Independence? Bulabhai has betrayed the Congress. Bulabhai is the Leader of the Congress Assembly Party. Let Bulabhai face the Pillory. Or is it that "discipline" is not for the Right particularly if one happens to be a Right Leader. Pandit Malaviya openly supported Hindu Sabha candidates, *more Right* than the Congress nothing happened to him; Dange supported Comrade Joglekar, a nominee of the AITUC, a candidate avowedly *more Left* but not against the Congress cause, he was hounded out of the AICC. The Mahatma can declare that Dominion Status is acceptable to him, and yet remain a member of the AICC and be invited to the Working Committee meetings to shape and guide the destinies of our movement. Bulabhai can do all the above and yet remain the Leader of the Congress Assembly Party while Dutt Mazumdar and B. Mukerjee who did *not* stand on the Congress ticket and secured 53 thousand and 21 thousand votes in labour constituencies and who organised a small Parliamentary group of TUC and Krishak Samiti members to fight for the specific class interests of the workers and peasants and to fight against Imperialism *in alliance with* the Congress must risk their membership of AICC and BPCC.

These are instances which tire our patience. This is not what we expect of the Congrrss and this is not what we joined it for. These instances however, should *not* provoke us into splitting the INC. The need for Unity today is greater than ever before. Elements like Bulabhai would create difficulties, but our task is to face and overcome them, not put up with them, not run away from them.

But Appeal to the Top is Not Enough

It is not enough to raise the issue with Nehru or in the AICC. Disciplinary action must be demanded against Bulabhai from every Congress Committee-from the primary Committees to Provincial Congress Committees. The *whole Congress* must be mobilised against Bulabhai's action. It is the task of the Trade Unionists to take the initiative in this campaign and seek the cooperation of the entire Left. It is not a personal Vendetta against Bulabhai that we organise but against his policy which must be repudiated and not repeated we must see that he no longer remains the Leader to stab once again the Indian workers in the back and bring indelible shame to our great National Congress in whose name he speaks and acts It is necessary therefore to make these demands.

1. Investigation into the affairs of the Assembly Party.

2. Suspension of Bulabhai as the Leader.

3. Repudiation of Bulabhai's speech and amendment.

Let every Congress Committee and Trade Union shower protest resolutions on Swaraj Bhawan! A protest meeting in every town and village to wake up Nehru and the Working Committee and teach Bulabhai the lesson of his life!!

TRADE UNION FRONT (AT CAWNPORE)

By Arjun Arora.

The New Offensive.

During the last year the workers in Cawnpore, in common with the workers in other industrial centres all over the country, have faced an increasing offensive launched by the employers. The introduction of a nine hour working day has been followed with a drastic cut in piece rates and a tremendous intensification in work A strict and rigid discipline has been enforced through the arbitrary powers enjoyed by the masters and jobbers, and the most petty faults are made the pretext for showing the door to the workers.

But the most important form of the intensification of labour is the gradual yet systematic introduction of the three and four looms system instead of the two looms per worker. In one mill after another the number of looms per worker is being increased, thereby throwing a large number of workers on the streets to swell the ranks of the unemployed. It is a pitiable sight to see hundreds of unemployed workers waiting day after day in front of the mill gates for hours after the factory has started work. The employers are not slow in taking advantage of these conditions to cut down their wage—bills and to intimidate the workers into utter submission.

The workers prepare to meet the offensive.

Inspite of organisational weakness the workers have not taken these attacks lying down. Cawnpore has been the scene of several strikes, and even in mills where the most rudimentary trade—union consciousness existed the workers have come out on strikes which have been stiffly fought and lost only because of police repression in arresting militant and leading elements promulgating section 144, lathi--charging the strikers and in openly helping blacklegs. The defeats, however have not despirited the workers. A general discontent is simmering within the entire working population and the need of a strong organisation capable of waging a united militant struggle is being realised more and more.

It is because of this increasing consciousness and the possibility of a united struggle against the employer's offensive, that imperialism takes care to lock up all left trade unionists at the slightest signs of working class activity The last six months have seen the working class area under section 144. This had expired in the middle of March, but before it was too late the authorities reimposed it in order to prevent any mobilisation of the workers for the First of April strike. The employers and the Government are taking every measure to prevent that fighting unity of workers which alone can save them from continuous attacks on their standards and conditions of living from being achived. And it is the task of trade-unionists to forge this unity and an organisation capable of giving the only effective answer to the employers and imperialism viz. a general strike. For no strike in individual mills, however militantly conducted, can stop the general offensive; individual strikes must be utilised for preparing and organising a general strike which alone can meet the demands of the occasion.

Reformist Trade Unionism.

The Cownpore Mazdoor Sabha is

dominated by reformists who will never organise for a general strike unless forced to do so from below. As soon as a strike breaks out in any mill they run to the bosses to negotiate a settlement which they try to foist upon the workers whether it be acceptable to the workers or not. Every strike of the past twelve months has brought to the fore the difference in the policy and outlook between these reformists and the militants. While the militants try to organise and consolidate the strike in order to extend it, the reformists attempt to push it backwards by negotiating for face—saving compromises which concede nothing to the workers and everything to the millowners. On every occasion the militants have had to expose the sham of such compromises. It is against such tactics of the dominant reformist group that the militants have had to conduct the strikes.

We must, however, consider whether the tactics adopted by the militants and their attitude to the reformists has been correct. We must also find out why it has not been possible for the militants to organise the workers on the slogan of a general strike, the objective conditions for which have been ripe. [Is it because of self satisfied sectarianism? Ed.]

The poison of Sectarianism.

In short it might be said that the militants have failed to invoke a greater response to the slogan of a general strike largely because they have failed to grasp the necessity and significance of United Action.

During the strikes in individual mills finding that the reformists are pursuing compromising tactics, the militants have attempted to exclude them from the strike committees, in general following the old sectarian tactics of hounding out the reformists. All that was necessary, however, was to expose and criticise these reformist compromises, leaving it to the rank and file workers to bring their pressure to bear against them and to force the reformists to a position where it would have been impossible for them to pursue their line further. This short cut of excluding them from the strike committees enabled them to pose as the champions of unity. They came forward with the slogan, "We must have a united strike committee." They pointed out to the workers that the militants are people opposed to unity.

Similarly today when the Mazdoor Sabha elections are drawing near, the reformists have come forward with the slogan of unity in the Mazdoor Sabha, while the militants are concentrating only upon the militant sections of the workers.

If, therefore, we are to make any headway in the struggle before us we must revise our tactics and abandon all traces of sectarianism. we must remember that so long as the reformists can point us out to the workers as people who are opposed to unity, as people who are manouvering for the exclusive control and influence over the workers, so long will they succeed in confusing the workers and in carrying away cerain sections with them. It is only when we come forward as the greatest exponents of a united trade-union struggle that we shall be able to create the necessary enthusiasm and response in the workers. In organising the workers for a general strike we should be ready and willing to co-operate with all those who are ready to work for a general strike no matter what shade of reformism they belong to.

The increasing discontent and militancy of the workers is a favourable ground for organising the rank and file in favour of a general strike to such an extent that the reformist leaders will be forced to take the same stand and help in the work. Instead of trying to exclude the reformists we should see to it that they are with us to work for a general strike.

Similarly in the Sabha elections we should demand that the Mazdoor Sabha should take up the organisation of a general strike immediately and seriously, and fight the elections on that issue. The elections will thus become a reality for the entire rank and file and will be a great weapon in organising that pressure which will compel the reformists to work for a general strike.

How to achieve real unity.

Let us grasp more fully what united action implies and how it can be achieved. Although the united front extends to the top, its strength and force emanates from the base. We must therefore work at the base. As we have already pointed out the workers are realising every day the necessity of a general strike. If the general strike is to be a reality we must organise strong rank and file mill committees to forge the unity of action and purpose which is a necessary prerequisite. It is through these committees that the entire united force of the workers will be able to deal that blow which will save them from the repeated attacks of the employers in Cawnpore.

Let all trade-unionists realise their responsibility. They must demand the active cooperation of all in organising the general strike. They nus, insist on this demand with the organised backing of the rank and file. They should convene a Textile Conference in Cawnpore on behalf of the Mazdoor Sabha, to which representatives should be invited from each and every mill, whether the workers of the mill are organised or not. Let this Conference then coordinate the grievances of the workers and on the basis of their demands launch the organisation for a general strike. If the ground is prepared on these lines the victory of the Cawnpore textile workers is assured.

TRADE UNION FRONT (2)

(THE BOMBAY DEADLOCK)

S. G. T.

Due to the anti-United Front tactics of the Congress Parliamentary board, the national forces of Bombay could not wage a united battle against the reactionaries in the Assembly Elections. The Congress Socialists joined hands with the National Congress in fighting Com. Joglekar, the T.U,C. nominee. Because of the tactics adopted by the local Congress leaders (their alliance with strike-breakers, their campaign of vilification against the T.U.C.) the election campaign created an atmosphere of bitterness and hostility. It seemed for a time that the unity of anti-imperialist forces in Bombay would not be re-established for a long time to come.

Fortunately this fear proved to be groundless. The T. U. C. leaders had made it clear that they were fighting not against the Congress but against a particular anti-United Front policy of the Right Wing and that their struggle was above all anti-imperialist. Immediatedly after the Elections, therefore, they appealed to the Congress and the C. S. P. to make

United efforts to bring about a General Strike on April 1st. The B.P.C.C., though it had fought the T.U.C. in the Elections, at once agreed to sink petty differences of the past for the common national struggle of the present.

Unfortunately not so the C. S. P. After long deliberations the C. S. P. Executive decided to delegate four of its members to meet the T. U. C. representatives-not for purpose of preparing for the General strike but-to demand 'explanation' for certain incidents that took place during the election campaign, and if *all* these four C.S.P. members were satisfied with the explanation given by the T.U.C. then and then only would the C.S.P. agree for United Action on 1st April. The C. S. P. stand, to say the least, was amazing. Here was an occasion of historic importance for the development of the national struggle. The Slave Constitution hated and condemned by the entire people, was going to be imposed on our country and a fitting reply to this arrogant challenge in the form of a General Strike had been decided upon. It was obvious, that even the united strength of all anti-imperialist organisations, could not bring about a complete General Strike. Unity was therefore all the more essential. But what concerned the Congress Socialist Party of Bombay more, was not, the success of the national strike but its getting a "satisfactory explanation" from the T.U.C.

Complete agreement, however, was reached at in the joint meeting of the representatives of T. U. C. and C.S.P. The C.S.P. leaders were satisfied with the explanation given by the T.U.C. The T. U. C. leaders, because they wanted to avoid bitterness and were more anxious for the national struggle than for their own 'prestige', did not, on their part demand explanation for the opportunist silence of C. S. P. leaders regarding the alliance between local Congress leaders and professional strike-breakers during the elections.

The 1st of April saw a most successful United Front Action in Bombay, the Congress, T.UC.. the C.S.P. the Students Federation all joining hands.

IN the meanwhile the A.I.C.S.P. Executive had met at Delhi. Com. Meher Ali. who had been a signatory to the agreement between the T. U. C. and C. S. P. in Bombay was present at the A. I. C. S. P. Executive meeting. And yet the Executive decided to break off United Front relations with the T.U.C. in Bombay, till 'satisfoctory explanation' was forthcoming. The facts that 'explanation' had already been given, that *all* the Bombay Socialists (including Com. Meher Ali, a member of the A.I.C.S.P. Executive) specifically delegated to hear the explanation had already been 'satisfied', that U. F. relations had already been restored, did not influence the A. I. C. S. P. Executive. It is well known now that it was Com. Masani who was not satisfied with the explanation, and that he committed the A.I.C.S.P. Executive to this disruptive decision. So, the Bombay Committee of the C.S.P., against the will of the majority of its members was forced to follow an anti-United Front isolationist policy.

The T.U.C.. this year, wanted to celebrate the historic May Day in co-operation with all the anti-imperialist organisations in the City. The B.P.C.C., the premier and most bourgeois Congress organisation in the country agreed to join hands with the T.U.C. for May Day demonstration but not the Congress Socialist Party. Com. Masani must have his explanation—an explanation that would satisfy not the C.S.P. Executive of Bombay but—him.

This attitude of Com. Masani is to be deeply regretted. Com. Masani should realise the incalculable harm he is doing by pursuing his present isolationist policy.

BOOK REVIEW

Stalin's Speech on the New Soviet, Constitution.

Published by The Socialist Literature Publishing, Company,
100/3 Kaserat Bazaar Road Agra. Cost 0-6-0.

The speech of Com. Stalin on the eve of the introduction of the new Soviet Constitution, which is at once a challenge to bourgeois democracy as well as a landmark in world history, is a thorough eyeopener to those intellectuals who see in the existing system of parliamentary government, the realisation of the highest principles of democracy. It is the forerunner of other such constitutions which the working class of the world would need to establish in their historical march towards their predestined goal.

In his usual manner of precision, this worthy head of revolutionary Russia, exposed the fallacy in bourgeois democracy and the principles of a truly socialist democracy.

The main differences are the following:—

1. Bourgeois democracy proceeds on the principle of the inviolability of the Capitalist system. Socialist Democracy has, as its foundation the destruction of the capitalist system with its attendant evils of private property and exploitation.

2. Bourgeois democracy recognises, maintains, and encourages the existing class antagonisms in our society. Socialist democracy is an expression of their abolition.

Bourgeois democracy presupposes the inequality of nations and races and frames its constitution accordingly. Socialist democracy proceeds on a basis of complete equality of all nations and races. It is international in character.

3. Freedom of vote, speech, press, and association are either not recognised at all or are curtailed to a large extent, in bourgeois democracy, Socialist democracy recognises all these. Especially regarding the franchise, equality and liberty are the fundamental features, there being no distinction between sexes classes or creeds.

Comrade Stalin has ably liquidated all criticisms from the fascist and bourgeois press re: the Soviet constitution. Their slogan of 'Soviet state reverts back to Parliamentarianism', has been completely exposed for what it was worth. The effect is doubled—the hypocracy is laid bare; that the Soviet constitution should conform to the letter of bourgeois constitution, and yet be thoroughly democratic is a complete answer, exposing and damning the sham constitutions of bourgeois democracy. It has not been a 'reverting back' but a going forward. Who would deny it?

The condition of society in Russia has been a matter of controversy in the bourgeois press. Interested persons as well as disinterested persons have given their impressions. We get more of the former than the latter. That class antagonisms have been abolished; that there are only two classes in Russian society, namely, the workers and peasants who coordinate each others work in their attempts at reaching the final-goal of a communist society; that the class of intellectual, strictly called the strata and not a class by Stalin, leads

the worker and peasants in their historical role of leading humanity to a Communist society; that there is no proletariat but only the working class; that exploitation in every form has been abolished; that free education is provided for all alike; that a high efficiency of production has been achieved under the Dictatorship of the working class; that work is guaranteed to every one able and willing to work; in short that a successful revolution has been consolidated on Morxist Leninist lines; all this is not a bluff for the world to swallow. It is a statement of what has been achieved and a promise of what will be achieved in future.

The speech is very illustrative as well as instructive. Our intelligentsia should draw inspiration for further study into the study of scientific socialism. It would also be an inspiration to the world Proletariat in their fight against Capitalism and the monster of FASCISM.

NOTES AND NEWS

Bombay Students in Action

The Bombay Provincial Students' Conference which met early in January called upon the students to actively participate in the Election Campaign in support of anti-imperialist candidates, Hundreds of students responded to the call and the Success of the Congress which won eight out of the nine general seats was, in no small measure, due to the active support of the student community. The Election campaign activised the entire student world.

In the last week of March a statement was issued by Com. Godiwalla, appealing to the students to participate in the anti-constitution General strike on 1st April. The atmosphere in the city during this week was one of unparallaled enthusiasm. Workers, Socialists, Congressmen all had sunk their differences of the Election days and had joined hands to make the 1st of April, a day of United National protest. Scores of meetings were held in recess hours to popularise the strike, to explain its significance. Congressmen Trade Unions, Socialists, Student Leaders addressed these meetings. The students went round the localities in batches appealing to all sections of the people to join in the hartal. Many street corner meetings were organised.

On April 1st a huge Cycle Procession was taken out in which hundreds of students joined. The hartal was almost spontaneous - both boys and girls refusing to attend schools and colleges. The success surprised even the leaders who had made very little organisational preparation. A Special feature was the huge procession of the Medical College Students.

In the evening thousands of students, with Red flag and the National Tri—colour joined the procession which terminated at Chaupathy—a memorable place where thousands of men, women and children had heroically faced the police in the stormy days of 1930 and 1932. Seldom had Bombay witnessed such a huge sea of humanity. At a moderate estimate over a hundred thousand were present.

The meeting was addressed by Congressmen. Socialists and Trade Union representatives. April 1st was a day of United Front in action.

But the major task is yet unachieved. The success was due more to spontaneous response than to organised effort. The building up of a student organisation is the task today. The vacations have come. During the vacations our student comrades must popularise the 'Students call'—the organ of the Provincial Student Body. They should actively work in the Congress, Trade Unions, Peasant Unions wherever they spend the vacations. Particularly they should explain to the student masses why student

organisations are necessary.

The Kottapatam Affair.

The summer School of Politics organised by the Andhra Congress Socialist Party and Youth League at Kottapatam has shot up into sudden prominence on account of the wanton act of aggression directed against it by the Agents of Imperialism at Madras. The credit for banning that school and making it unlawful goes to the hanger-on to office, Sir K. V. Reddy and his colleagues. True to their profession, are they opposed to everything progressive and as such they cannot tolerate young men and women assembling together to get themselves enlightened in rational politics. Sir K. V. Reddy and men of his ilk who do not and cannot understand the rudiments of higher scientific politics except, to sing *halluluja* to their masters, found intolerable the idea of organising a political school. Why should there be a political school at all when you can become a Dummy minister without knowing anything of politics ?

The Police at Kottapatam kept up their tradition and made themselves motorious for cruelty, ruthlessness and ferocity. When the students found that the bean order was an infringement of the civil liberty, they decided to ignore the order and face the consequences. Consequently the police in the name of law and order pounced upon the students, conducted a lathi charge and wounded many inmates of the school. This reminds one, of the day of police autocracy which has not abated a little though we are supposed to be enjoying the bliss of Self-government under a new constitution. One feels sick of hearing about self-government when you are constantly made to believe that "self" can't exist when the government does not want it. The Kottapattam incident is an eye-opener to all those who indulge in the hallucination of living under a beneficient regime. The same brand of Imperialism continues though it may change colours at

600 008

Climbing Down

At its last meeting at Delhi, the All India Congress Committee decided to allow Congressmen to accept offices on getting an assurance from the Governors that they will not interfere in the constitutional activities of the ministers. But the Governors refused to consider even this most moderate demand and thus the deadlock was created.

But Mahatma Gandhi who has retired from politics and Mr. Rajagopalachari the Congress leader of Madras in ther anxiety for offices for congressmen have gone out of the way in issuing statements which violate the resolution of the A.I.C.C. and the very principles for which the Congress is fighting.

The Mahatma in his recent statement says "I would die in an attempt to prevent the tragedy—to prevent bitterness and hatred between England and India". Mr. Rajagopalachari in an interview to the "Madras Mail referring" to Mahatma's statement says "Both sides under this condition would truly benefit." Mr. Rajagopalachari further hopes that this statement of Mahatma Gandhi will put an end to the suspicion that he is going round about to escape office and begs that congressmen may be put in office. *He further assures the government that congress men seek power not to create difficulties for the Goverument but something higher namely to establish friendship and peace through co-operation.* These statements of congress leaders bewilder any average Congressman who has been repeatedly told that Congress stands for the rejection of the New Constitution.

These statements betray the real intentions of the Congress leaders who it appears were not genuine in their support to the wrecking of the constitution. It is the duty of the left forces in the congress to agitate against the watering down of the resolution of the Congress at Faizpur and Delhi. The Congress leadership must be forced to stand by the resolution

Books You Cannot Miss !

WORLD DEPRESSION By K. T. SHAH, Pages 271. Price Rs 1-8-0.
A Book of international importance surveying the genisis and causes of the world depression and suggesting daring methods to economic recovery. No Student, or Professor or a politician can afford to remain without a copy of this work.

Prof. K. T Shah is a well-known economist of international reputation and his latest work is an original contribution to the problem facing the world to-day.

IS IT A CRIME ? By H. D. RAJAH Pages 224. Price Re. 1
A social theme boldly conceived and splendidly portrayed. Mr. H. D. Rajah is well known as a public man and his work 'Is it a Crime?' has thrown light on many important baffling problems of our society and has given lead in solving them.

The Hindu Says:—" The Novel is indeed a clarion call to our reformers to sweep away the cob-webs of ages and to restore purity to our social system... Mr. Rajah has done a distinct service."

The Indian Express writes:—" The book is highly provocative of thought for those who have the welfare of society at heart. It is written in an easy and arresting style and deserves to be in the hands of all well-wishers of the nation and its forward march."

SPARKS FROM OUR LIFE By H. D. RAJAH, As 4.
In this small book, Mr. Rajah has given the best of life in the form of stories and interesting sketches. They are so true, that you will have a very interesting time of it when you go through them. Read and you will know what the book is !

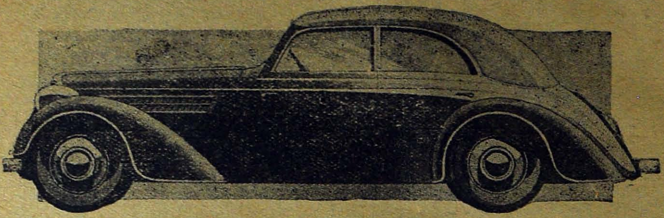
EVOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS By U. C. GOPALAN, As. 4.
This book contains a short history of the Congress from its beginning up to the introduction of Montford reforms. Every student of history and politics ought to have a copy of the same.

LIFE OF DEVALERA (in Tamil) By BALAKUMAR, Price As. 6 only.
In this book, the life of De Valera, the great Irish Patriot who is now guiding the destinies of Ireland is given. It contains a graphic description of how Ireland fought for her freedom, the role Mr. De Valera played and the success Ireland achieved. It inspires you and sets you thinking. You cannot miss a copy.

THE
National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd.,
3, KONDI CHETTY STREET, MADRAS.

Registered No. M. 3679.

NEW ADLER CARS



Check the Following Features:—

Sensational Front Wheel Drive

Independent Wheel Suspension

Remarkable All Round Springing

Comfort-Speed-Economy.

35-40 Miles Per Gallon.

FULL PARTICULARS FROM

Telegram : "AUTOWORKS"

RANE (Madras) LTD.,

Telephone: 3595.

ADLER DISTRIBUTORS

MOUNT ROAD :: MADRAS.

Printed by V. Krishnaswami Iyengar, at the B. N. PRESS, Mount Road and